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circumstances under which the material in this report was collected.

On arriving at Petats I started immediately to work on the language, and was making good headway when I decided to move to Kurtatchi. Here I had to begin afresh upon a new dialect. The vocabulary differs considerably from that of Petats, but as the syntax is similar, my previous work was not altogether wasted. Beginning by making use of pidgin-English, with which all the younger men (but not the women nor the older people of either sex) were familiar, I gradually substituted the native dialect for conversational and working purposes, and eventually was able to use it with some degree of freedom in the give and take of everyday life, and for writing down what my informants told me. For this purpose I used a simplified form of the International Phonetic System. When taking down stories, and anything else that required to be recorded verbatim, I had little difficulty in getting the narrators to speak at a pace which I was able to follow with my pen.

None of these people had any acquaintance with standard English, pidgin-English being the universal medium of converse between them and the whites. As interpreters, I chose carefully the men who possessed the best knowledge of pidgin-English. One man, Matarē (whose photograph appears in Pl. 11), in particular was very useful to me, being interested, careful, and more articulate than the others. With him, and some others, I went over the greater part of my material (omitting, of course, information given to me in confidence), interlining my note-books with a pidgin-English translation, in the course of which I was able to get unfamiliar words explained to me, thus often opening up some new line of inquiry. Unfortunately for me, the local dialects differ almost from village to village, so I was obliged to fall back on pidgin-English as a lingua franca whenever I worked outside a limited area. In such cases I had to content myself with taking down in dialect the key words only.

At Petats I lived in the rest-house which is maintained for the use of Government officials. At Kurtatchi I had a house built specially for me. I was given a site in the new part of the village, facing two lines of huts. There the villagers, working under my direction, constructed a house and outbuildings which proved admirably suited to my needs, with a good verandah, from which I could watch what was going on in the village while I wrote up

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III

MARRIAGE AND SEX RELATIONS

124 585 [197] NO marriages took place at Kurtatchi during the nine months of my residence. Had there been any, they would have been conducted according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church, since the village now has a resident native Mission teacher. If I had gone there a month or two earlier, I should have been able to witness the final stages of the marriage of Kakari, Pinari's nephew and heir, to Muben, a girl of rank from the village of Baniu, but I did not hear of this until too late. The account here given was obtained from a group of people who had themselves taken part in the events they described, of which at least the marriage ceremony itself was sufficiently recent to be clearly remembered. It was told in public, the audience, as usual, chiming in at intervals to add some detail omitted by the narrators. During visits to other villages, I obtained what information I could about the ritual as performed there, thus eliciting some local differences which are noted in their appropriate places. The main lines of the procedure are, however, similar throughout the area dealt with in this book. I was able to be present at some of the preliminary proceedings conducted on behalf of different individuals, but for the sequence of events and for the bulk of the detail I have been obliged to rely on my informants.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS LEADING UP TO MARRIAGE

584 [436] A boy may be betrothed even before he has put on the *upi*, i.e. when he is less than seven or eight years old, and a girl when still quite a baby. The boy's father makes a series of visits to various villages, and when he finds a girl who takes his fancy, he brings a spear, puts a string of *beroan* (ceremonial currency of shell disks, see p. 446 and Pl. 67) round it, and offers it to the girl's mother. If the betrothal meets with her approval, she takes the spear and puts it up in the rafters of her hut, where it remains as a sign that the girl is promised. The father of the boy and the mother of the girl chew the betel-mixture together, and arrange a time when the boy's mother will go and chew betel in the girl's village. The boy

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PLATE II

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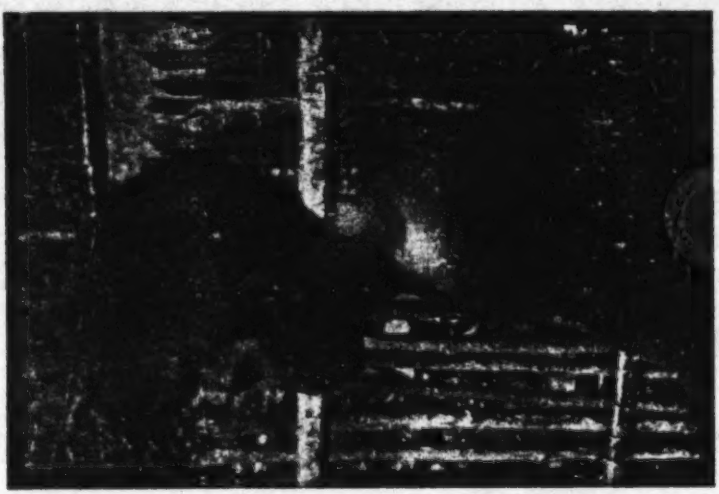

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MATARÉ AND HIS WIFE MAROTÉ

[facing p. 109]

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When I showed my friends at Kurtatchi the photographs I had taken during a visit to the Kunua mountain natives, the first thing they noticed was the absence of loin-cloths. The women asked particularly if I had seen the Kunua women's pubic hair. On being answered in the affirmative, they seemed quite horrified, and both men and women hastened to explain that the Kunua people were only 'bush Kanakas' who did not know any better. Yet scarcely more than a few years ago they were following exactly the same fashion themselves. 834

Since the upper portion of their bodies is not covered, there is no such feeling connected with the breasts. Remarks will be passed on their shape, &c., entirely devoid of sexual implication, just as we might criticize a person's nose or eyes. The breasts do not figure in the tales, and, so far as I can learn, do not bulk largely in native love-making, though firm upstanding breasts are, as has been previously stated, considered a beauty. 826

In attempting to investigate the reactions of these people towards matters connected with sex, and to obtain information regarding sexual practices, I never encountered any hesitation or reticence, on the part of either men or women, whether by themselves or in mixed company. Many were quite willing to give their own personal experiences, and the details are, besides, often common knowledge throughout the village. The marital histories I have cited for illustration, when not based on personal observation or on information arising out of the collection of genealogies, were either given by the individuals concerned, or by other people in the village. All the persons mentioned were well known to me personally, unless otherwise stated. 831 124 ●

But while willing enough to talk, they have great difficulty in putting their ideas into words, even in their own language, as soon as one tries to go beyond mere concrete description. In such inarticulateness they are, of course, by no means unique. I found it more pronounced in the women than in the men, and it was, far more than shyness or opposition, my chief difficulty throughout the whole investigation. 521 124

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the other hut, and was forbidden to do any work and especially strictly forbidden to handle a knife, axe, or other sharp instrument. If he did so, it is thought that the child would die. This prohibition applies to the mother also. Further, neither father nor mother might wash themselves, nor eat pig, fish, or opossum, which means that they were confined to a vegetarian diet. Patchip's mother cooked the food for them both.

On the morning of the fourth day (Aug. 29), Patchip took some leaves of the plant called *mayiyir*, a green leaf and a dry one, rubbed them in his hands, and squeezed them into a *kapi* shell. A little water was added, and taking the shell he went into the hut to make the acquaintance of his first-born, and to give him this 'medicine' to make him grow strong. He held the shell to the child's mouth. Afterwards, the leaves were carefully thrown away into the bush, but the shell which had been used to hold the mixture was carefully preserved in the hut. Medicine and other liquids will be given to the child in it during babyhood.

Patchip was anxious to perform on this day the ceremony removing the taboos under which he laboured, but the old women of the village said it was too soon, and persuaded him to defer it for a little while longer. He might now walk about the village, but no farther.

On the fifth day the child was washed in fresh water inside the hut. Its umbilical cord came off, and was preserved in a coco-nut shell containing lime for chewing with areca-nut, where it will remain until the child is grown up. The father and mother both went and washed in the sea. The child was not yet allowed to be taken outside the hut.

On the morning of the sixth day Patchip went into the hut carrying a large bush knife. With this he made several slashes at the child as it lay in its mother's arms, pretending to cut its head, limbs, and abdomen. This removed the taboo on holding a sharp instrument, and Patchip was then free to go to work, his period of couvade being over. Manēv was also allowed to go to the taro garden, but did not do so that day.

After this mother and child took up the ordinary course of their lives. The child was thriving when I left five weeks later.

A NATIVE WOMAN'S DESCRIPTION OF A BIRTH

The Kurtatchi women followed the course of Manēv's pregnancy with great interest, asking eagerly for details of its progress when

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I returned to my own house at intervals during my stay at Tabut. On one of these occasions, when we were discussing the subject, I got Matēv, herself the mother of six children, to give me an account of birth procedure, of which I give a literal translation. I did not interrupt Matēv with questions or comments in the course of this narrative, such explanations as were necessary being obtained afterwards. As it stands, it stresses the points which were uppermost in her mind, and were, therefore, presumably, considered of most importance, thus illustrating the native woman's point of view better than a more detailed and coherent statement obtained by less direct means would have done.

'The woman sits on a log. We tire ourselves out with working over the child. Now it hurts, its mother cries out, now we cut some leaves, we make her drink. Now the child is about to be born. Now she is afraid because the child hurts her. She cries out because of the child. Then I say: "You sit quietly, and your child will be born." We do like this (here Matēv went through motions indicating vigorous massage of the woman's abdomen). We shake the child. The child's head comes out first. All the women look. "Stay still, your child will be born easily. Don't break the child in your belly, if you do you will die."

'The woman is delivered of the child. The umbilical cord is fastened to the placenta. The placenta looks like liver. If the child's leg sticks in its mother's genitals, the mother holds her breath, then the child is ready to fall down. We get a coco-nut shell, we catch the blood, we carry it and throw it away in the bush.[1] We get water and pour it over the child, we wash the child. We take a shell-knife, we cut its umbilical cord, and put the afterbirth into a *kobu*. We bury it in the house. We make *poti* (a drink made of the oil from scraped coco-nut meat squeezed through banana fibre and then boiled) and *kariur* (the same but with some of the coco-nut scrapings added to the liquid). We fetch a bamboo full of water, we rub the woman's belly, we cut a leaf (the leaves used are those of the plant called *kō*, which are large and smooth), we make it hot, we warm the woman's belly. We warm the child. We take a piece of banana fibre, a large piece, and put it round the mother like a belt, then it warms her blood (the idea being that the blood will then run out easily and recovery be hastened). We

[1] It was afterwards explained that some people did this, but others preferred to bury all the blood in the house (as was done at the births witnessed by me).

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to represent are used at the *wapi* ceremony only, and this is the only one which is kept secret from the women. Both *watawutʃ* and *wasipsip* are held within the precincts of the village, and may be witnessed by anybody.

The people say that the *watawutʃ* is held in order to remove the taboo forbidding boys wearing the *upi* from entering huts occupied by women. It also removes, as previously stated, certain prohibitions regarding diet and chewing the betel-mixture. After this ceremony has been held there is no further need for the boy to be careful about being seen without his hat. The idea is, according to the old men, that as his growth of hair has been publicly shown when he climbed the *roror* tree, its length is no longer a secret, whereas if the women had seen it in the process of growth, they would not be surprised at its length when it was exhibited for their special benefit at the *watawutʃ* ceremony.

Most of the restrictions which have hitherto shut the wearer of the hat away from female society are relaxed after he has been through the *watawutʃ*. There still remains the taboo on sexual intercourse, which is not permitted until after the *wasipsip*. But the breaking of this rule is not so serious an offence as it would have been before the *watawutʃ*. One young man even asserted that sexual intercourse was allowed, provided the boy first took off his *upi* and left it in the *tobar*. Possibly this indicates a weakening in the observance of the rule, but it should be mentioned that the young man in question was not a very reliable informant, even when talking, as here, of matters with which he might be supposed to be well acquainted. Most people with whom I discussed this question were definitely of the opinion that a boy should not cohabit until he has finally removed the *upi*. The formal marriage ceremony is never held until the bridegroom has been through the *wasipsip*, although the girl to whom he has been betrothed, possibly from infancy, may have been living in his parents' hut for some time.

The keeping of this taboo imposes sexual continence upon the boys of this community not only during adolescence but also beyond it, since the *upi* may be seen on the heads of some who are, to judge from their appearance, fully mature young men. A few incidents illustrating the effect of this repression have been given in the previous pages, and some dreams reported by wearers of the *upi* are discussed in this connexion in Chapter XVI. The question

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[1] Our knowledge of the Solomon Islanders is rather sparse even today. Up to the present the most valuable contributions have been made by H. B. Guppy, The Salomon Islands and their Natives (1887) and C. M. Woodford, A Naturalist Among the Head-hunters (1890); but even these two did not have the opportunity to become acquainted with the extreme northwestern islands of Buka and Bougainville. On its voyage the "Gazelle" touched the west coast of Bougainville on the twenty-fifth of August 1875; since that time merchants have frequently visited the island, in part to make purchases and in part to recruit workers for plantations in other areas. On these occasions bloody conflicts frequently arose between the natives and the whites so that the former have gained the reputation of being a warlike and cruel people. I believe, however, that this reputation is unmerited. It cannot be denied that quite a few white men in Bougainville have been slain by the natives; but frequently we must acknowledge that the death of a great many of them was caused by their own misdeeds. The recruiting of plantation workers with its many evil consequences has nevertheless had one advantage. A large number of the natives have seen other regions, become acquainted with other circumstances, and come to comprehend the character of the white man better. Thereby, in the course of the years, a transformation has taken place in their mutual relationships; even if one party cannot meet the other with absolute confidence, still a certain armed neutrality has been brought about by means of which a rather calm and peaceful relationship is gradually being built up.

The following statements on the ethnography of the northwestern Solomon Islands (Buka, Bougainville, the islands of the Bougainville Strait) including Carteret and Nissan Islands (1) are the result of

1. Both of these island groups must be considered as belonging ethnographically to Buka, Bougainville, and the islands of the Bougainville Strait. The Carteret Islands were populated by natives from Buka about

three generations ago, according to the statements of local inhabitants. According to tradition these little islands were inhabited by light-skinned natives who were slain by the immigrants. Nowadays traces of these earlier inhabitants are still to be found in the form of ax blades made of tridacna shell, which now and then are discovered by the present inhabitants when they are turning the soil. These ax blades bear the greatest similarity to blades of the same material from the Fead, Mortlock and Ongtong Java Islands. Hence it may probably be assumed that the original population was very closely related to the present-day inhabitants of the above-mentioned island groups. On Nissan I sought in vain for such vestiges. The population there is rather numerous and keeps up active relations with Buka. A mixture of various tribes, to be sure, is noticeable, but it can be explained by the fact that there exists an annual connection with the St. John Islands (Wonneram), which is inhabited by people from south New Mecklenburg [New Ireland], via Green Island (Pinepil), situated not far from Nissan--a connection that has left noticeable traces, both ethnographic as well as anthropological, on Wonneram as well as Nissan. (Cf. R. Parkinson, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Deutschen Schutzgebietes in der Südsee" [Contributions to the Knowledge of the German Protectorate in the South Sea], SA, a.d. Mitth. Geogr. Ges. Hamburg [reprint from Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg] 1887-1888, Number 3, pages 72-75; the same in IAE., Vol. X, 1897, page 109.)

numerous observations made on the spot, as well as information received from Buka and Bougainville Islanders who were under my

supervision as plantation workers. The information of younger workers 124
has constantly been compared with the statements of older ones, as well as with the results of my own on-the-spot observations. Any divergences in these statements or from my own observations I have always been able to explain by the fact that slight differences appear in various districts. In my homeland I never caught my sources of information telling a real lie; on the contrary, they frequently rectified my own observations in cases where I had gotten on the wrong track as a result of insufficient linguistic knowledge and incomplete observation.

[2] My remarks relate primarily to the coastal inhabitants. De- 184
spite various attempts I have never reached the true interior of Bougainville. But I recently succeeded in bringing a few highly alert young men of the interior to Ralum. I found out many things from them, mainly information that confirmed what the coastal inhabitants had already told me. These people, however, live in the Emperor Range in the northern half of Bougainville and differ essentially from the inhabitants of the Crown Prince Range; up until now we know nothing reliable about the latter. What I have heard about them is so contradictory and sometimes even so fantastic that I am unable to base any reliable statements upon it. Up until now I have not been able to obtain workers from the southern interior of Bougainville; the few individuals whom I had a chance to observe were allegedly prisoners of war from the interior and differed distinctly from the coastal inhabitants, but I was able to find out practically nothing from them. For the time being therefore I place no credence in the statement frequently made by the coast inhabitants that a tribe of pygmies is supposed to live in the interior. Granted, the inland inhabitants whom I have seen from that region are strikingly small, but to conclude from this that there is a whole tribe of pygmies seems to me too bold--all the more so since I know from long experience that the coastal inhabitants are inclined to ascribe all sorts of fabulous characteristics to the inhabitants of the interior whenever their own knowledge is not complete. The pygmies in the interior of South Bougainville, therefore, probably came from the same source as the men with tails in the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula.

In view of the narrow width of the island (never more than 35 nautical miles) one might be inclined to assume that the coastal population and the inland population are not essentially different. My